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P R E F A C E

The Mighty and the Humble

This author has a treasured recollection of a conference with Helen Hall of Henry Street Settlement House. She said the only way she could be sure of what her neighbors were thinking on the Lower East Side was to take her knitting and spend an evening visiting with them. May not one of our greatest limitations, as educators, be our own isolation from those we serve? In our field work at N. Y. U. recently we required three students who are in high positions in social welfare to interview on the Lower East Side. They got far more out of the experience than some of our less experienced people. While they had spoken for and worked for those who are of the lower status for years they had experienced no real contact with them.

It would be a revelation to most superintendents of schools, principals and teachers to keep a diary for a few weeks as to whose homes they had visited, what segment of the community they had "socialized" with. All too often power, prestige, or affluence makes us such "Brahmins" that we come to reject even those whose cooperation with us made us what we are. There is no more dangerous power than that of the mighty who have lost their identity with the humble they attempt to serve.

Dan W. Dodson

In Memoriam

TO

WILLIAM CLINTON STUART
1902 - 1956

Outstanding Educator

**Vice-President, Payne Educational Sociology
Foundation**

**Past President, Rho Chapter, Phi Delta Kappa
Dynamic Leader**

**and a Sincere Friend whose untimely passing was
a personal and professional loss.**

**The Memories of Him will long be a Challenge
for those in the Profession who knew him.**

BEYOND LEGISLATION AND LITIGATION — WHAT?*

Dan W. Dodson

The strategies needed to provide further opportunity for education of American Negroes will depend on what local groups conceive to be the fundamental issue in present day race relations, particularly as it relates to the power structure. These alternative positions are current.

One, is that posed by Cox¹ to the effect that the low status position of the Negro in America today is caused by economic forces. From this position, any attempt to work within the present power structure is collaboration. He says:

Collaboration proposes to achieve civil rights through indirect, ingratiatory, suppliant tactics. Its program is essentially that designed for Negroes by the white ruling class; hence it expects civil rights to be granted beneficently as a reward for development of good behavior and trustworthiness among Negroes. It places responsibility for civic discrimination against Negroes upon their own imputed lack of merit and economic stability. It maintains, therefore, that Negroes should never struggle directly for civil rights, but should rather concentrate upon their education and material development. Civil rights will then follow as a sort of social luxury.

This position despairs that the power structure can be changed within the framework of present economic organization. It would contend that the status of Negroes can be improved appreciably only by making common cause with other disprivileged economic elements of the society to wrest power from the ruling economic interests.

A good case could be made that the gains achieved over the past decade have resulted from the majority group's relinquishing some of its power because of the fear aroused by the threat to the present system during the war era. Many would contend that the reversal of the *Plessy vs. Ferguson* doctrine stemmed from the threat to the western socio-economic system posed by the rising tide of pressure on the part of colored peoples in the world as a whole.

The alternative position is that American Negroes belong to the body politic the same as all other citizens; that a statusless society does not exist; that arbitrary power is continuously in process of being brought under social control, i.e., regulation by the people themselves in whose collective hands is the ultimate source of power; that regulation is increasingly vested in those responsible to its source, the people, and decreasingly in the hands of those who are privileged to use it for arbitrary and capricious ends.

* This article will appear as a chapter in the John Dewey Society *Yearbook, Education of the Negro in America: Its Adequacy, Its Problems, and Its Needs* edited by Virgil Clift, which will be published by Harper and Brothers. It is printed here by permission of the publisher and the Society.

¹ Oliver C. Cox, "The Programs of Negro Civil Rights Organizations." *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. XX, No. 3, Summer, 1951.

The Negro community of America has good reason to feel despair over the rate of progress in race relations to the present, and a person who is white runs grave danger of being misunderstood in attempting to outline strategy on so fundamental an issue. This chapter is predicated on the hypothesis that there are other sources of power than economic, that there is a relationship between economic and educational disprivilege, that gains made on one front automatically strengthen the position on the other. The destruction of the present economic power structure would not free most of those who are disadvantaged because of their educational or social backwardness. A reciprocal relationship exists between gains made on the legal and political fronts and the educational and social development of capacity to hold these gains. The one without the other means little.

This is not to disparage the great advances in civil rights accomplished through legislation and litigation during the past decade. The May 17, 1954 Supreme Court ruling and those of the subsequent Monday climaxed this great advance. These gains are documented in other chapters. They leave much still to be done in the definition of social policy through legal and political means. The gains accomplished in this way are themselves educational. The advances of the future, however, will perhaps be decreasingly legal and increasingly volunteer positive social actions in local communities. The strategies which will move us forward on the legal front should in no wise be diminished, however.

✶ The broad non-litigation tactics involved in implementing the Supreme Court decision seem to fall in three categories. The first includes those strategies designed to further bring private power and privilege, whether held by groups or persons, under social regulation. In many local communities this means a continued operation utilizing pressure, the weight of public opinion, etc. to change policies of agencies, organizations and businesses so that all the people of the community participate in the services, employment opportunities and other advantages on a common basis of privilege.

The second aspect of strategy involves perhaps the psychological integration of the people of local communities into a common sense of identification and belonging. Undoubtedly the greatest barrier to the participation in the American dream—that a person will be rewarded according to his abilities and energies—is the psychological sense of being shut off on the part of minority persons; the never being quite certain that one is accepted; the continuous question mark as to whether even special opportunities are offered because of justly earned merit or because of racial status. This is illustrated, for instance, in many northern communities where Negro children still constitute a

small proportion of school classes but are elected to offices all out of proportion to their numbers. The Negro student is never quite sure whether he is elected because he merits it or because he is a Negro. The strategy for dealing with this problem is complex but exceedingly important.

The third aspect of strategy is much more positive. It involves "taking up the slack" that has been caused by the patterns of the past. Equality of opportunity is not enough if it is conceived as simply giving every person as he is presently constituted an equal chance. There is no equality of opportunity for the person who has been shut out of the main stream of American life, whose ancestors before him were shut out, if he must compete with persons who have had superior advantages. This is as true within groups as between groups. This is treacherous, dangerous ground ideologically, but it is a problem that must be faced realistically.

TACTICS RELATED TO SHIFT OF POWER IN COMMUNITY LIFE

➤ Much work needs to be done in almost all communities at the present time to provide a better basis of integration of minority groups into the common life of the community. There are many agencies including those of local government which are still "Jim Crow." By and large, private agencies have been exempted from the law in the development of civil rights legislation. Many of the private agencies working in the average community still practise rank discrimination. In addition, patterns of residential living, despite the Supreme Court decision outlawing restrictive covenants, continue to make the average American city a rigidly segregated community. New York City's Harlem is as famous a ghetto as were any of the Jewish ghettos of central Europe a few generations ago. It is interesting that the Puerto Rican population which has migrated to the New York City community principally within the past ten years is far less segregated than the Negro community. The techniques of social action required to break these barriers are quite varied. Outstanding among them would be:

Protest

The outstanding approach to social reform in race relations has been social protest. Protest literature has appeared in significant volume and quality. The capacity of Negro leadership to interpret the position of Negroes in the local community has been varied but protest, especially as it has involved pressure group tactics, has accomplished outstanding results in numerous instances. The protest group more nearly represents the conscience of the minority in the average community than any other phenomenon.

Protest carried too far, however, tends to have a deleterious effect

upon growth and development of youth. The phenomenon of scapegoating in which the minority youth blames his failures upon the inequalities of the social system is well known in educational circles. In other words, if too much reliance is placed on protest the tendency of people to resign themselves to the fate depicted by the protestations stifles effort.

Confrontation

A good tactic that should be tremendously effective in the immediate years ahead is that of confrontation. There are many agencies and organizations which have heretofore excused their segregated practices because of the separate but equal doctrine. They are at present confronted with a completely changed set of relationships. Many of these agencies have the responsibility of inculcating the basic American ideals and values in the youth of the society. They are today confronted with a responsibility for realigning their own practices. Illustrative of these types of situations are:

(1) *The Churches*. The institutions of religion are today confronted with a great challenge. A most fundamental tenet of their beliefs, other than the faith in God, is the brotherhood of man. Kramer¹ in a study of 13,597 churches of three denominations discovered some ten per cent which are mixed congregations. Most of these, however, include only one or two persons of the minority group and the three denominations (Congregational, United Lutheran, Presbyterian) are heavily concentrated in the non-southern sections of the United States.

It is true that there is a great resource for community betterment of race relations in many of these institutions. The Roman Catholic Church, for instance, has taken the lead in many communities in the integration of their school systems. On the other hand, this particular faith is not heavily represented in the South except in a few communities like New Orleans. It is a rare thing that a minister can take an opposition position such as the Reverend Bill Carter, Hobbs, New Mexico, who from his pulpit opposed the inregation of Negroes and whites in the school system. In spite of the fact that in the average community the church is one of the most segregated voluntary institutions, the religious leadership is setting its sails "four square" on this issue. A "round up" of church group reactions to the Court decision from the *Interracial News Service*² is typical:

Georgia: "Four church groups and the League of Women Voters urged Attorney General Eugene Cook to reverse his position

¹ Alfred S. Kramer, "Racial Integration In Three Protestant Denominations," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, October, 1954.

² *Interracial News Service*, Vol. 25, No. 2, July-August, 1954.

(take no official part in hearings before the U. S. Supreme Court [this] fall on how the Court should implement its decision outlawing segregation in Public Schools.)”

Methodist: “Methodist annual conferences meeting since the United States Supreme Court ruling . . . have gone on record as indicating that the churches will make every effort to urge their members to conform to the adjustments which must be made to comply with the law.”

Conferences of Baltimore, Southwest Texas and Minnesota were cited for resolutions calling for support of Court ruling and integration within their local fellowships.

Council of Churches of New Orleans passed a resolution approving the Supreme Court decision. . . . They said, “We call upon the members of our State Legislature to find just ways of implementing in our State the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court. We ask that in every circumstance they exercise clear and calm judgment and Christian good will in all their attitudes and actions in accordance with the ideals of our Christian faith.”

Atlanta: “Seven Atlanta ministers told members of the Christian Council of Atlanta . . . that the churches have an obligation to help carry out the Supreme Court ruling against segregation and that the churches must lead in the matter in integration of the races.”

These instances are cited to indicate that while organized religion has a long way to go to achieve integration, the repository of idealism and spiritual strength to be found in the church is an asset which undoubtedly can make a contribution to a more wholesome climate of race relations.

(2) *Other Character-Building Agencies*: In every community of consequence there are other character-building agencies who are confronted with a comparable dilemma. Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, YMCA and other type agencies can no longer rationalize a position that since education is segregated without violation of civil rights, their programs must “follow suit.” The Boards of these organizations are usually composed of status persons in the community. They are now in the position of having to violate the basic ideals of American society or change their segregated practices. The Recreation Section of the National Social Welfare Assembly took the initiative, together with New York University, to hold a consultation with their membership in the spring of 1954 on this issue. It is already evident that local groups are bringing a great amount of pressure to bear on the national offices of these organizations to supply guidance regarding problems connected with integration.

(3) *Employment.* Increasingly employers are being confronted with the responsibility for bringing all groups into participation in the common economic life of the community. Organizations like the International Harvester Company have shown outstanding initiative in demonstrating that integration of employment can be achieved in southern localities such as Memphis, Tennessee.

(4) *Labor.* Labor unions likewise today face the necessity to realign practices in many communities. Some labor groups have taken the lead in integration due to the realization that status of labor is always precarious if there is a vast reservoir of labor which employers can tap to foil collective union activity. The migration of industry to the southern region of America within the past decade has been tremendously pronounced. The unions are rapidly realizing that Negroes and other disprivileged groups are a potential labor supply if a factory management decides to pull up stakes and go south.

(5) *Other Social Agencies.* Another group highly vulnerable to this approach is that of the social agencies. These run the gamut of child placement institutions to homes for the aged. The impact of the Supreme Court decision has produced a need for them to realign policies and re-evaluate programs.

Interpretation

The third approach is that of interpretation. In many communities there are many people of good will who desire to do the right thing but who blunder because of lack of understanding or ignorance. If dealt with intelligently, such persons frequently present enormous potentials for growth in understanding. Here the tactic of interpretation of the position or point of view of the minority person cannot be minimized for its effectiveness.

Practically all persons possess "blind spots" in their social orientation coupled with stereotypes from a cultural heritage. To deal with these social limitations requires patience, tact and understanding. Much harm has been done to intergroup relations by the assumption on the part of some minority persons and their friends that these stereotypes and blind spots when they were exposed, represented bigotry and ill will. This author recalls an initial contact with a person who has since become outstanding in intergroup relations who started his conversation with the oft heard statement that he had nothing against Negroes. In fact, he had an "old Negro Mammy" he loved as much as he loved his "own folks." If documentation of this point of view were needed, one has only to cite the scholarly conclusion of Professor Howard Odum, who wrote in his doctoral dissertation at Columbia in 1910 to the effect that Negroes did not possess the capacity to learn beyond the early years. With the outstanding

leadership he gave to the cause of intergroup relations, in the subsequent years, one dares say that had minority groups "pushed him into a corner" and make him defensive about such a statement, his services to the cause would have been lost.

Not the least responsibility in strategy is the interpretation to those who are in power positions of what is involved in race relations. Evidence of what can happen without such interpretation and in the absence of clear understanding of what is social policy is represented by what was written in Milford, Delaware, where parents went on strike because the schools attempted racial integration. Local officials were impotent when attacked by organized fighting.

Another aspect of the interpretation approach involves the role of the press and other mass media. The climate of community opinion through which social gains are made is of enormous importance. It is interesting to note that the Southern Educational Reporting Service has seven editors of outstanding southern newspapers on its Board of Directors. This means an intelligent press in key communities becomes increasingly sensitive to its role in interpreting race relations.

As this article is being completed, the function of mass media is highlighted by their treatment of the picketing of schools in Baltimore and Washington, D. C. Unfortunately, that which makes news is most often in the nature of conflict. Once the spotlight of public attention is focused on a conflict pattern, people who are involved begin to play roles for the public rather than operate as persons simply trying to conscientiously work out a situation. In a so-called "riot" incident involving racial groups in a high school in New York City a few years ago the press distorted the picture tremendously, and what was worse, on the succeeding morning, it was alleged, five carloads of reporters with cameras were lined up in front of the school waiting for "something to happen." It was stated that one reporter offered a boy a quarter to start a fight so he could make a picture. Blow-by-blow accounts of interracial incidents are not conducive to amicable settlements based on good will.

TACTICS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL INTEGRATION

The psychological sense of not belonging is in many respects more damaging to the morale of minority persons than is deprivation of the fruits of opportunity. Any activity or programming at community levels, which involves all groups helps give this sense of belonging: Educational work, for instance, such as appreciation courses and units on contributions of different groups, if done intelligently, provides a certain sense of "being included." Within this country during the past decade there have been many approaches to psychological integration

through education. There are at present some six or seven centers in colleges and universities devoted to the human relations emphasis. These have been by and large interdisciplinary ventures in which the art and science of groups relating to each other are being combined.

In addition, in the summer of 1956 some 26 workshops in human relations were offered for teachers and community workers by different colleges and universities. The literature in the field of human relations has grown rapidly within the past few years. Interestingly enough, industrial organizations have become increasingly aware of the fact that production is influenced by whether people feel they belong in the plant and are considered an integral part of the team.

Another dimension through which the feeling of belonging has been developed is in the appointment to boards and public committees of persons of minority background. This has been accelerated tremendously in southern communities in the past few years as Negroes have acquired suffrage and had access to the ballot.

There is still a long way to go. For example, an unpublished study by a professor in charge of student-teacher placement in one of the leading northern states recently sent a questionnaire around to school superintendents of the State asking whether they would accept qualified Negro candidates if referred to them. In numerous instances the answer was "No, we have no Negroes in this community." This sense of being shut out, of Negroes being employed only where services to Negroes are concerned, of not being in on community councils and chests concerned with total community welfare leaves a sense of isolation.

Another aspect of isolation is presented in the social relationships of the young people as they come through high school. A graduate student who is Negro recently described the experience thus: "Through the elementary grades and the junior high school we were all together. Seemingly there were no differences. Each accepted the other for what he was as a person. Gradually, as we moved into high school the pattern changed. Negroes went their way and whites went theirs. Increasingly we were not invited. Soon the social worlds were parted completely."

Because of these aspects of isolation and lack of appreciation of their own cultural heritage on the part of minority children there has frequently arisen what Kurt Lewin terms group self hate. The impact that it has on personality was spelled out by Dr. Kenneth Clark in the studies he made for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the evidence of which was submitted in the Supreme Court brief. The studies tended to show that Negro children at an early age attributed those things which represented the dominant

values of society to the whites and those things which represented the less good to Negroes. When black dolls and white dolls were represented, the white doll was the "good" doll, the Negro doll the "bad." The white was the clean and the black the dirty, etc.

These manifestations of distorted perspective, lowered aspirations and psychological isolation seem to be almost inevitable concomitants of being set off and apart. They will persist until such time as we are able to produce a sense of belonging for all members of the community.

TACTICS RELATED TO ERADICATING PAST HARMS

The past decade has seen the greatest advance in the use of legislation and litigation for the advancement of minority peoples' rights of any since the Civil War era. Much yet remains to be done on this front, and while these gains are of themselves educational, the advances of the future probably will be decreasingly legal and increasingly volunteer positive social actions in local communities. Law produces broad policies and forced procedures but of itself is impersonal. It is that necessary but forced first mile in race relations.

The second mile is the permissive one. That task in its accomplishment goes beyond segregation to the integration of all the people into the common life of the community on the basis of equality of opportunity for all. This mile cannot be traveled until people relate to each other in different ways than is possible by means of formal procedures.

After the barriers have been broken, laws passed, or statutes reinterpreted, still stands the ultimate question of how you change the lives of people.*

The great questions still remain of how do you provide positive creative educational leadership? How do you make up for the years of inequality of opportunity? How do you raise aspiration levels of those whose hopes for generations have been dimmed? How do you heal the traumas of past degrading experiences? How does education raise the cultural levels that are implied in social class, since second class citizenship has for the Negro group relegated so many to lower social class status? These are the hard core questions for which education must find answers. They represent more than simply "equality of opportunity," for equal facilities, equal training of teachers, equal

* It is not presumed here that these instrumentalities of law are any the less important because of the foregoing statements. It should also be pointed out that the proposal and passage of laws are of themselves an educational experience. In New York State, for instance, the Quinn-Ives hearings on the proposed State F.E.P.C. was one of the greatest educational experiences in race relations which the State citizenry has ever undergone.

opportunity to share do not mean, at least in the short run, equal participation.*

The experience in obliterating past inequalities in northern communities is not too heartening. Richard Plaut¹ says that "in the past five years the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro students in over 280 different interracial colleges in 27 states. It might have found places for five times that number, had the qualified candidates been available." He cites a study conducted by his organization which examined the college qualifications of Negroes in 50 urban high schools stretching from New England to Illinois. The study revealed that "in these schools Negroes constituted about one-third of the enrollment but only 2 per cent of the seniors who had fulfilled the minimum college qualifications as measured by rank in class and subject requirements."

Kenneth B. Clark² reports: "Children who have recently migrated to New York from the South or West Indian Islands tend to be superior in academic achievement to the native born Negro children in the fourth through sixth grades in the New York City public schools, that in a standard achievement test administered in some of the Harlem schools the average reading and arithmetic level was about two years behind their grade. . . . There were some classes in which there was no measurable improvement in these school subjects from beginning to end of the school year."

Dr. Clark goes on to say, "Not all this discrepancy can be blamed on the schools alone. Students from families with no tradition of higher education, with economic and social disadvantages are usually not stimulated to aspire to higher education. When, in addition to these factors, there is also insufficient, inadequate or stereotyped counselling in the schools; overcrowded classes and disproportionate pupil-teacher ratio; shunting to vocational courses without a sound teaching and counselling basis; then the obstacles to college qualification and aspiration for the bulk of Negro students become virtually unsurmountable."

In a youth opportunity project in New York City, the Urban League attempted through two years of group guidance to see what could be done experimentally toward raising social situations and

* This is no plea for racial favoritism. It is to say, simply, that the court has ruled, we believe rightly, that separate education has produced inequality of opportunity. If this is so, education has the responsibility to go out of its way, if necessary, to make up for past harms.

¹ Richard Plaut, "Racial Integration in Higher Education in the North," *Journal of Negro Education*, Summer 1954, Vol. XXIII, No. 3.

² Kenneth B. Clark, Speech delivered at the conference "Children Apart" entitled "Segregated Schools in New York City," April 24, 1954.

aspiration levels of Negro and Puerto Rican youth. The counsellor found that back of the low aspiration problem lay the ignorance of counsellors and guidance people concerning resources for guidance and opportunities for Negro youth. Back of that was the structure of education which practically forced vocational choices at the time the children finished junior high school, for at that point either the academic or the vocational secondary school was chosen. Back of that were the stereotypes and anxieties parents harbored about their children getting hurt if they aspired too high. One parent remarked to his son, "Boy, there is no use you trying to go to college. They're not going to give you a chance. I came to New York with a good voice but was not accepted because I was Negro. You better get ready to be an apartment house superintendent."

Back of these obstacles is a still more basic one of community and community resources. In many instances youths were recognized for their abilities but the family and the community did not have the resources with which to assist. In addition, the larger community presents comparable kinds of hurdles for all youths, but particularly minority youths. The World War II veterans came home determined to get an education from their G. I. benefits and move into mainstream vocational and professional life. The number who took advantage of these benefits is phenomenal. The Korean G. I.'s, however, who had grown up in the lush era of post World War II, have not been as anxious to go to college. They see little of the need when other occupations for which college training is not required are so lucrative. This is especially appealing to those young people from backgrounds where money has never been plentiful. This responsibility rests squarely at the door of the larger community of which the minority group is only a part.

The strategies for the improvement of minority groups in the future will be increasingly less those which "plead the cause." The great challenge to America today is how to go beyond mere "equal chance for everybody" to bring all disprivileged peoples through the socio-cultural gate into full participation in the common community life. In this responsibility intelligent community action, education that gives direction to the social process, religion that reinterprets basic spiritual values, an economic system that assumes an obligation for the well being of all, together with a dynamic jurisprudence, must lend a hand in the creation of new designs of community life if democracy is to prove that people have basic concerns for each other that transcend a raw power struggle for economic status.

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ADJUSTMENT FOR WHAT?

Gail M. Inlow

One of the significant land marks of the present century has been the preoccupation of people almost everywhere with the process of adjustment. Today such terms as mental health, the integrated personality, self-adjustment and maturity are commonplace. Many organized groups have made their imprint on the quest for maturity. Psychiatry, mental hygiene, psychology, guidance, educational psychology, social service, and child development are just a few of the movements or disciplines which have made significant contributions to the field of maturity.

Laymen as well as professionals share the preoccupation. Newspapers daily fan the spark of interest in the area of adjustment by carrying articles written by "authorities" on such topics as: "Are You A Whole Person?," "How to Improve Your Personality," "How Well-Adjusted Are You?." Books, both scholarly and popular, have literally flooded the market during recent years in an avowed attempt to help the readers escape the pitfalls of maladjustment and find their way to the top rung of maturity. Nor have teachers and ministers failed to keep the quest for adjustment and maturity alive in the minds of their respective audiences.

More important than the external fanfare about maturity is the basic problem which has to be faced today by every student of maturity, namely, that of determining the criteria of maturity. Yet this problem is too often ignored by the professional or lay individual who talks to you and me over the radio, through the medium of television, in the daily newspaper or in a book. Writers and speakers glibly refer to adjustment but rarely define what they mean by the term. To whom and to what should one be adjusted? When is the individual adjusted or mature and what are the standards that determine adjustment and maturity?

Personally, I envision maturity as a relative term and conceive of different levels of adjustment on the road toward maturity. The most primitive level of positive adjustment is the ability of an individual to maintain contact with the more elementary and primitive phases of perceptual reality. A schizophrenic individual may see a tree as a shadowy threat to his security or may not see it at all, whereas a better adjusted individual will react to its commonly accepted physical or psychological properties. Perceptually, he will recognize it perhaps as a provider of shade and comfort; or as a fruit producing shrub;

or as a possessor of roots, trunk, bark, branches, and leaves. The sheer act of recognizing a tree as a phenomenon of nature possessed of certain recognized properties is in and of itself an indication of elementary adjustment. But this is just the first step. Most people go through life recognizing the limited physical and psychological properties of objects and people, but they are not necessarily adjusted individuals as a result. However, they are obviously better adjusted than the catatonic who is almost completely withdrawn from reality.

A second level of adjustment may be identified as that which an individual makes to his immediate social environment. John Jones is born into a race-hating neighborhood. As he grows into adulthood, he adopts the prejudices of his associates and lives a narrow existence in a provincial setting. He eats, sleeps, earns a living, marries, seems to enjoy life, but rarely questions the values to which he and his neighbors subscribe. Probably a psychiatrist, if he were permitted to examine John Jones, would give him a clean bill of mental health. In effect, John is adjusted to a local environment. He is in contact with the less subtle forms of reality, responds to the normal physical and social drives, and is a reasonably well organized individual. But he is not mature because he is oblivious to values other than provincial ones. He adopts from his environment without question and makes no effort to evaluate the attitudes which he has and the opinions which he possesses. Or if he does think about his attitudes and opinions, he relates them only to a local milieu.

A third level of adjustment may be considered as that which is achieved by an individual who not only is in contact with basic sensory and perceptual reality and his immediate environment but one who validates his value system against the standards of a larger community—the city, the state, the country, the world. The individual at this so-called third level of adjustment who is confronted with controversial attitudes as those related, for instance, to such concepts or clichés as “white supremacy,” “Asia for the Asiatics,” “dirty foreigners,” and “blood will tell,” immediately evaluates them first of all against fact and, just as important, against the values of a larger community. He might reason that if Whites with the upper hand persecute Negroes, Negroes with the upper hand might well persecute Whites. Sooner or later the world resultant would be chaos. Therefore, as a result of his maturity, he would have to rise above race prejudice because such prejudice could not meet the standards of the inherent value system of a greater world culture. He would have to reject the import of the slogan “Asia for the Asiatics” lest he be forced to accept such other slogans as “England for the English,” “Chicago for the Chicagoans,” or “Suburbia for the Suburbanites.” This type of

compartmentalization of part or all of the greater world society could not stand the glare of a sound value system and would consequently have to be rejected.

The question of what should go into a value system of a greater world community is a problem of no mean proportions. I personally would settle for the Judeo-Christian Ethic but would respect the value system of a different religious philosophy which would reject any major actions that would have an adverse effect on other countries and peoples. Each idea, principle, or attitude which the mature person tentatively accepts must be extended for validation further and further away from a provincial into a world setting of all the people of the world. Only with this extension will maturity be reached.

The mature person, far from being merely devoid of deviate personality phenomena such as projection or transference, is a positive "doer" in terms of his philosophy. Not only does he belong to the human race but he also shares the problems of the human race and helps to solve them. His role might be that of a local, state or national public official; a social worker; a physician; a voter in an election; John Q. Citizen participating in a worthwhile community project; a teacher, or a good neighbor. For practical reasons, he will probably have to confine his service efforts to a local setting, but in terms of validating his actions, he must not lose sight of the world around him. In effect, he accepts a local service role because it is available, but he plays the role with one eye on the immediate situation at hand and the other eye on people everywhere. As a public official, he rejects bribes because bribery is not part of a sound value system for all the people. As a physician, within the limits of his capacities and resources, he helps those who need help regardless of time and fee because this approach to life can be validated against a greater system of public values. On the contrary, if as John Q. Citizen he condones corruption in politics, refuses consistently to buck the majority when principle is at stake, subscribes to in-groupism, and is satisfied with mediocrity, he sells short the human race and himself and delays the cause maturity as a result.

The mature person not only must be a positive doer, he must be a positive doer to the extent of making the most out of his God-given capacities. Man has been blessed with physical, mental and social attributes. Although heredity places absolute limitations on the extent to which he can develop his God-given powers, he is dedicated to develop them to a reasonable optimum. The human drives may be suppressed by the ascetic who because of religious belief considers the body a necessary evil; or the drives may be over stimulated by the hedonist who also lacks a sound system of values. Both the ascetic

and the hedonist limit their usefulness to themselves and to others because they refuse to develop their physical capacities to the utmost in terms of a people-oriented philosophy. The mature person, on the other hand, develops his body, emotions, mind, and social capacities to a high level of efficiency because maturity performs better when qualitative standards have been met. The immature individual is the one who can do well in school but does poorly; who can influence others positively but withdraws from them; who overindulges in food, drink, or sexual behavior at the risk of limiting his usefulness to self and others. In effect, he does not develop his capacities according to the demands of a greater system of values. He may be adjusted in a limited sense, but he is rudderless in a broader sense.

Not only must the mature person have a sound value system, be a positive doer, and press toward optimum development, but he must be consistent in what he does, what he thinks, and how he acts. Every person plays many roles in the course of life and plays them in varying social situations. The church member who thinks in terms of absolutes on Sunday and settles for relativity on Monday is not consistent. The individual who is a gracious host in his home but a tyrant in his office also fails the test of consistency. On the contrary, when I as an individual can be consistent with my philosophy wherever I am or whatever I am doing or thinking, I am to that extent more mature. Thus I must be essentially the same person on the athletic field, in the presence of a social scion, while visiting with a poverty-stricken neighbor, in the church, in the home, in school, or wherever else I may be. My behavior may vary in small part because of differing cultural expectancies, but as a person I shall not vary fundamentally. I cannot be effusive and sacharrine in the home of a wealthy neighbor and gruff with a fellow worker; pious when talking with a member of the clergy and profane with other associates. To be mature, my behavior in whatever the situation must measure up to standards of consistency.

Although maturity may be required to meet the test of certain identifiable standards, practically it must be considered as relative and not absolute. In one sense it is relative in that individuals of different backgrounds and levels of ability and interest are mature in different degrees. They start at a higher or lower stage of development and progress at different rates because of varying hereditary and environmental factors. Thus John Jones with a deficient constitutional structure and a poor home environment may seem very immature according to an absolute standard; yet his progress toward maturity may be relatively greater than that of Dick Smith who has been blessed with a well balanced central and autonomic nervous sys-

tem, born into a home with many cultural advantages, but who has made little progress toward the goals of maturity.

Maturity must also be considered relative in terms of its relationships to a local culture. The major conflict which regularly confronts a mature person is that which arises between local customs and attitudes on one hand and the philosophy of maturity on the other which extends to all the people of the world. A few illustrations are in order. In the United States, maturity continuously is in conflict with the authoritarianism of parents, teachers, and public officials; with religions which deny the individual the right to question dogma; with human values that are lost to materialism; and with the preoccupation of individuals with themselves, their local cultures, and status quoism.

To what extent does the mature person have to condone cultural attitudes and actions which are inherently wrong, as judged by a people-centered philosophy, before he draws the line and says: "This I believe. This I will fight for." Obviously, no one answer will suffice for all mature people in all situations. The determining factor is what action in the long run will best foster the cause of maturity. Jesus decided that a frontal approach by means of shock treatment was the effective way for Him to electrify people into reanalyzing their way of life. Moses, Socrates, Plato, Roger Bacon, Galileo, Darwin and others with firm conviction based on fact and broad vision made a similar decision. Of the many leaders in the history of the world who have changed it for the better, a significant number have been crusaders. But these dedicated spirits spent many years preparing for their crusades. They were gifted, well informed people; their plans of action were carefully thought through; and their timing was opportune. For the individual less gifted by nature, it is suggested that he conform to social mores which do not conflict with his important principles. At the same time, he should be encouraged to let his non-conformist views be known at the right time and in the right places—but he should not shout them from the house top. If one goal of the mature person is to win others to the cause of maturity, he must select legitimate and practical ways of getting the job done. They will vary of necessity from time to time and from situation to situation. Of greatest importance is that they bear the stamp of maturity.

The road to maturity must be envisioned by thoughtful aspirants as difficult to travel. Yet each person must be encouraged to travel it in his own unique way and with confidence that he will reach limited if not larger goals. He must first of all join the human race if he is to have a marked influence on a segment of it. As he presses further along the road to maturity, he will realize that the problems of the cultural hinterlands are as important as those of Main Street; that

hunger in Thailand is as important as hunger in Tobacco Road; that the intolerance of a nazi, a communist, or a Mau Mau is not any worse than the intolerance of poorly informed people in America who support the causes of race prejudice, ultra-nationalism, and other types of bigotry and ignorance.

If an individual is to serve humanity well, he must first of all serve himself well. Self love of a wholesome kind must be based on the higher qualities of personality. A chronic neurotic has difficulty loving himself because he is blinded to values by his neuroses. He cannot love his neighbor because he projects his negativism to his neighbor. If he is to serve the cause of maturity, he must press toward better adjustment. But this goal of adjustment cannot be achieved with optimum success apart from a value system. Even if the higher processes of the Cerebral Cortex control your behavior and mine, we cannot be whole personalities without a sound philosophy. Even if the autonomic nervous system deviates seldom from the ideal of homeostasis, the resultant is socially sterile unless grounded in a value system.

Thus it is my firm conviction that writers of books and articles on mental health, adjustment, and maturity must begin to restructure their thinking away from the purely physical and psychological mechanics of process and begin to delve more deeply into the question: Adjustment or mental health for what? Probably psychiatrists, psychologists, mental hygienists, and educators have dominated for too long the field of adjustment and need more often to look for help to leaders in the other disciplines. The psychiatrist and the philosopher, the psychologist and a member of the clergy, or all of these along with the educator, sociologist and anthropologist need to think together about maturity. It is a complex process, the road to it is tortuous, and all available resources must be tapped if our culture is to become mature. Maturity is a difficult taskmaster, but its rewards are the higher spiritual qualities of personality and decency in human relationships. These goals are worth striving for, whatever the cost, but let the various disciplines begin to relate mental health or adjustment to spiritual and philosophical as well as to physical and the more primitive psychological outcomes. Through a coordinated effort, we shall then be able to say that more mature approach has been taken to the concept of maturity.

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IMPLICATIONS OF AUTOMATION FOR EDUCATION

Maurice P. Moffatt and Stephen G. Rich

"Automation" is a term heard almost everywhere nowadays, in economics as in education, attacked as well as defended, yet apparently not sufficiently understood by those who discuss it. In order to understand what automation may imply for, or require of, education as an organized community function, we need first to be sure of our ground in the possession of an understanding of automation itself.

The cold fact is that automation is neither magical nor new. We can trace isolated pioneer examples of it back for many decades. Perhaps the real pioneer of automation can be placed in the self-regulating electrical supply system, with alternating current, which was devised just before 1890 by the group of engineers centered around George Westinghouse. The "self-regulating transformer," which meted out current to each circuit without needing an attendant to regulate any switch or rheostat would appear to be our first genuine example of automation.

Since then, many similar self-regulating devices, some of major and some of minor use, have been developed. Typical of these is a group of uses of the "electric eye," otherwise known as the photoelectric cell. By its use, in multi-color printing, it is possible to assure that the printings in various colors to make one finished picture, fit into perfect "register" with each other, and that without need of any pressman continually adjusting the feeding devices.

It is the self-regulating feature which distinguishes processes conducted by automation from all others. Instead of relying upon a vigilant machine-minder, or even needing one to attend to signals that something is out of strict perfect routine, a process conducted by automation at any point corrects the routine automatically. This is called the "feed-back" in most articles and books on automation. The term "feed-back" as here used, is derived from the peculiarity of the vacuum electric tube or "valve," by virtue of which amplification of sound is attained in radio, telephony and other uses. For those informed in electrical engineering, it is thus the most apt description possible.

Automation, as now discussed, differs in one major respect from the early examples we have cited. This difference consists in the very extensive use of long chains of self-regulating processes of production, covering many stages toward the final product. Such extended automation attracts notice, in contrast to isolated older cases which are thought of as merely incidents in processes of which most stages require at least some human direction.

Here we repeat what seems to be a trite truism:—that the technological development is a major, or perhaps even the major, determinant of the historical growth of any society. This generalization need be mentioned here for a definite reason. The particular technological level reached determines the deployment of personnel into various jobs. When an advance in technology takes place, the people involved must be placed into new and different work. Thus, to take a very simple case at the level below automation, the introduction of the brick-elevator and of the delivery of concrete blocks in swatches by crane, cut down drastically the need for persons working as hod-carriers. A further effect might be noted in that this change increased the amount of brick or block construction possible for one worker in a day. In an expanding period, this situation does not displace anyone. In a static or depressive period, "technological unemployment" does however appear.

For clarity we desire to distinguish sharply between mechanization and automation. Mechanization is so familiar a portion of our economic structure, and we are so completely adjusted to operating under it, that we hardly recognize its existence. It has emerged over a period of many years, by successive stages. Each stage was accepted without need for a drastic adjustment. But the total process resulted in a thoroughgoing readjustment of personnel and function.

Contrast this with similar procedure in the 1950's. One or more gasoline-powered shovels and one or more bulldozers on powerful tractors are brought to the scene, plus perhaps very few large motor trucks if any material is to be hauled away. Hand work consist at most in perhaps lifting a last few odd shovelful out of the substantially complete excavation. The dumping of the truck is not manual but mechanical, on merely shifting the dump mechanism into gear. The change from horse traction to mechanical has of course done away with all the hand jobs required in caring for horses.

As we have now delimited automation, we are ready to consider its social impact. The paragraphs just written have therefore been necessary in order to enable us to understand the situation with the needed exactitude.

Social impact of automation naturally is not uniform for all industries, nor for every type of business. A large business office, using machinery for its bookkeeping, its recordings, its computations, and so on, may well find the cost of automatized devices a real economy, because of gains in both speed and accuracy. A small-scale concern, or one whose transactions do not lend themselves to standardization, could find automation completely without advantage. The contrast we are here suggesting might be typified by a life insurance company's

head office on the one hand, and that of a dealer in postage stamps for collectors on the other.

We have cited office automation in these cases. But we wish to be understood as not considering this the most significant occasion for its presence. In actual productive processes, most typically seen in the automotive industry, automation already is a reality—though not yet a universal one.

The obvious and feared social impact of automation is the threat of unemployment for those workers whom it displaces. To what extent this impact is actual, or may become actual, we cannot state or guess. Certainly any appraisal of this aspect at present is bound to be both superficial and strictly personal. But a few limiting conditions might be set forth, to avoid misunderstandings of many sorts.

In an expanding industry, automation may not even keep up with the demand for personnel. This had been notably the case in the telephone systems of all regions. Growth in telephonic use has made the number of employed workers double during the past generation, while dialing, dependent of a highly developed automation of central offices, has replaced manual switching and calling. More men are now required to install and maintain oil heating than were ever required to supply coal and tend furnaces, in the old days of hand-fired coal heating.

In non-expanding industries, the fears may be more justifiable. A similar situation holds for expanding firms against those static or declining, within any particular industry. The rising firm is reasonably sure to be one ever using more automation in its plants—or replacing older plants with new ones, far more fully automatized. Thus there could be the fear that less man-power will be needed.

The real social impact is something slightly more subtle than the mere displacement of workers.

The growth of automation, like any other technical advance in human progress anywhere in the world, reduces the need for certain kinds of work, for the skills and trainings that such specific jobs require. To offset this, numerous new jobs come into existence, with new skills, new trainings, required. The process here is not a bit different from the replacement of the maker of shafts, pulleys and belting for factories by the differently skilled winder, insulating man and tester for electric motors.

In brief, the impact of automation is only the current case of "technological displacement of workers." The transition to new jobs which in many cases require the old skills, occurs for a fair proportion of workers. For a larger sector, training in new abilities, perhaps closely allied to those previously mastered, is required. It may indeed

be no more difficult a transition than for a machinist to go from work in building gyro-compasses to that in constructing airplane engines.

One definite aspect of the transition to automation is already apparent. The need for unskilled or slightly skilled workers decreases spectacularly. The needed skills are tending to be more and more of certain groups. One such group, involving much knowledge as well as technical skills, is that concerned with machine maintenance. The maintainer, in all his manifold positions, becomes far more significant with increase of automation. The "servicing" and "adjusting" sides of maintenance are daily requirements when automation is in use—and they must be provided continuously without interrupting productive processes.

Automation likewise calls for many more persons fully qualified in the machine-constructing trades. Included herein, as will be evident almost without mention, is construction of the electrical portions of machinery used under automation. Even now, the problem of finding enough such constructor-workers is facing those purveying the apparatus of automation.

The reader is probably aware, from other sources if not from what had here just been said, that the advance of automation requires more complete planning, more estimating of what future needs are likely to be, than was the case in any previous technological advance. The large investment involved in any installation of automatic machines likewise implies being reasonably sure of securing the personnel trained to handle such equipment.

At this point, it may be well to quote from an April, 1956 report to stockholders by Mr. R. J. Cordiner, president of General Electric, a concern conspicuously identified with automation:

"Good planning for automation includes planning for human problems as well as the mechanical and financial problems. At General Electric, we try to plan technological improvements so that the normal turnover of our work force absorbs any shifts in employment. In General Electric, we have been mechanizing, improving methods, and automating as fast as we can economically develop and apply the required technology. We are proud of it, and plan to continue to make our company a more productive element of society. Concepts like automation are an expression and an instrument of the vitality of the American people. They serve us well, in our continuing search for better ways to work and live."

At this point, the impact of automation on society clearly indicates multiple large effects on education. We now seek to make definite, as explicit as possible, the requirements thus implied. No doubt, any educator, sufficiently informed, could bring out these same results. Thus far, however, the attempts to clarify the situation have been

few. Any attempt to supplement these is therefore likely to be of some value.

Quite clearly, automation is already requiring from the secondary schools a supply of mechanically-minded workers, who can take over with a limited specific in-service training, the new type of maintenance and servicing jobs. This would imply that a young man, coming from a vocational high school, now needs more than the older type of training as a machinist. The basal knowledge in physics required to handle such positions is within secondary school scope—but few schools have yet attempted to teach it. Perhaps automation will require vocational training to reach a new level, that of the junior college. We throw this suggestion forward, in order that consideration of too condensed a vocational course to be effectual, may be avoided.

The general trend of curricula in high schools and colleges is affected, along with the vocational curricula. Automation clearly will call upon most persons to have a modicum of knowledge somewhat higher than is now general, in physical science, and a similar higher modicum of mechanical skills. The exact extent needed cannot yet be stated with satisfactory accuracy. It is clear, however, that even those taking the commercial course do need to be able to wield the screwdriver without burring the screw-head, in order to be able to keep business machines operating correctly. Likewise, the elementary physics of electricity, and perhaps even some electric knowledge not so elementary, has become a necessary portion of knowledge which employers are likely to expect new members of their staffs to possess.

This electric knowledge may well be as simple content as understanding wattage and resistance, so that circuits are not overloaded at any time. We note that an overloaded circuit, blowing fuses repeatedly, can waste sufficient time in short shut-downs to quite negative the gain from any automation involving the machinery operated off that particular circuit.

Certain portions of basal chemical knowledge seem to be indicated as at least assets for young people coming into many industries in these days of automation. These knowledges are definitely not the old and "traditional" chemistry of the high schools, or the freshman year of college, but quite different. It is not the metallurgy of zinc, or the Solvay Process for sodium carbonate that matters—but knowledge of such facts as the chemistry of rayon, orlon, nylon and the like, that is likely to count. A reworking of the courses in chemistry, to remove material which has remained because of past importance, and to replace it by items currently significant, is certainly indicated as needful.

In the social sciences, the usual history courses or the more modern unified social science courses seem destined, in the light of the spread

of automation, to undergo rather drastic changes—whether of content or of emphasis. Economic literacy is one goal which all the signs show as likely to be of much greater value in the immediate future. Social competence, meaning ability to know what is occurring and to adjust one's actions to this rapidly-changing society, would also appear to be a goal towards which much more effort in education is likely to be needed in these days. Automation has not created these new needs, but, as the latest and perhaps most drastic technological advance, has brought the needs to the front.

Consensus of competent opinion is that the future will involve greatly increased leisure time. The very nature of work under automation, with its requirements of intensive attention, seems destined to force such a situation into existence. Adequate education designed to make for fruitful use of this extended non-working time is thus indicated as a "must." Can it be that we are at the threshold of an era of opportunity for wider and deeper cultural activity—whether music, literature, the presentative arts, travel, individual research in chosen fields, and even sports—than has hitherto been possible? Even philately might become more followed than now, as might photography.

Education itself, under the impact of automation, may well be destined to proceed in a direction hitherto adumbrated and occasionally followed. We mean that the requirements of an economy based on automation seem likely to put a premium on originaive skill and imagination. By this we mean that what Hughes Mearns and others described a generation back as "Creative Education" is quite likely to be the type of regime for the coming generation, as a result of the economy of automation.

This we might elaborate at great length, but it would be merely repeating what others have done so well and so often. We do not trust our own knowledge and abilities to the extent of specifying what particular modes, varieties, and procedures of originaive education are likely to be required. Perhaps, in another few years, whether three years or two decades, it may be practicable to integrate a number of trials of various kinds of originaive educational procedure into a more or less coherent program.

At this point notice has to be taken of what seems a possible risk to education. This risk becomes greater because of the increased requirements on our profession caused by the advance of automation. Quite obviously we refer to the difficulty of maintaining the standards of instruction in the face of the rapid growth of the school-age population. This situation holds for both the secondary and the college levels. Consideration of this problem requires not merely a paragraph in the present article, but a comprehensive separate treatment. We

hope that such further studies will be made in this area, for they really are needed.

The requirements of automation suggest intensive research and experimentation, to produce a high standard of instruction. Further, these requirements indicate a need for experimentation to devise means by which this high standard may be made general rather than exceptional. Periodical re-evaluations of the curriculum become essential, as automation expands into new areas. The new changes thus brought about require to be met without delay by appropriate curricular adjustments.

When we speak of readjustments of the instructional programs, we very definitely are including those on the college level within the scope that we mean. In the first instance, the introduction of any new stage or application of automation requires persons trained in this new area of advance. From the secondary schools alone, such persons cannot be secured now; nor in the visible future are we likely to secure them from those sources.

The extent to which automation-introducing industries may train or educate their own personnel should not here be forgotten. Now in 1957, it does not seem practicable to forecast the extent to which the industries may or can assume this responsibility. Until some body of experience has been accumulated and made accessible by record in professional literature, we must therefore rest content with noting the existence of the problem.

The various impacts which automation has made, is making, and is clearly destined to make, upon education, have here been discussed with an eye to selecting those of most significance. Consciousness of the extent of adaptation which education is evidently going to be called upon to make, will thus be an urge to further thinking upon these matters. Quite obviously, such thinking can lead only to research, since in many cases the very facts are not systematically known. Another general result seems indicated, in that the extent of urgency in attacking this group of problems is likely to vary from region to region. Thus it is quite within the bounds of probability that some parts of the country may be affected by these changes quite some years later than those in the heart of the economic advance.

Our concluding words must be that recognition of the social requirements which automation is putting onto education, and prompt adequate responses to these conditions, form a necessary development, by which the educational structure will have fully met its obligations.

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DEVELOPING COMPETENCIES IN DEMOCRATIC GROUP LEADERSHIP¹

Celia F. Baum

How do we develop competencies in democratic group leadership? This development is a major responsibility of teacher training. Insight into group discipline and the dynamics of group living is one dimension of a good teacher. Society needs effective teachers with sound conceptual underpinning in human relations. It needs people with ability to perform creatively in the act of guiding, directing or influencing people. To perform adequately, people need perceptive understanding of the nature of individual and group development. Knowledge and theory are important. But practical experience in group leadership is essential if knowledge and theory are to become synthesized in effective action. How can practical experience be provided?

At Brooklyn College, all prospective teachers are provided with opportunities to study group living in community group work agencies. These community agencies are under the supervision of professional social workers who utilize group work techniques in recreation and informal education. The program of the agencies has two main emphases: participation in democratic group living; and creative experience as preferable to formalized, imitative or passive programs. These agencies have moved toward making their programs person-centered, not activity centered. The agencies used for allocation of students are settlement houses, YM & YWCA's, YM & YWHA's, community centers in housing projects and various other types of centers providing afternoon and evening activities to people in the community. Many of the agencies provide services for all age levels in under-privileged areas. Thus a large portion of the clientele is drawn from low socio-economic levels.

All junior education majors are required to take part in community work experience. The students engage in activities which enable them to observe and assist in the interplay of personalities of young people in varied types of after school programs. They lead activities in music, dramatics, arts and crafts and sports. They plan and discuss parties, and exploratory trips in the neighborhood. They conduct discussions on current events and other topics of vital interest to

¹ This is a partial summary of the findings of research reported in "*A Study of the Effect of a Course in Community Work Experience on the Ability of Prospective Teachers to Discern the Climate of Democratic Group Leadership*," an unpublished doctoral thesis, at New York University, 1953.

the intellectual, social or emotional development of young people. Students attend the agencies twice a week and work with those age levels that interest them most in terms of the level at which they intend to teach. At the start of the students' experience, they observe and assist, finally taking over leadership of groups after they exhibit a readiness to do so. They are supervised and counselled both by the agency personnel and the college supervisor.

Although many private and public colleges and universities provide prospective teachers with similar community work opportunity, no scientific check through adequate research concerning the effectiveness of the activities in group leadership, appears to have been done. Conferences with leaders in social work, directors of agencies and group work supervisors, also revealed a need for adequate evaluation of student field activities. Since there is so very little tangible proof of the values of community experience, a study was undertaken to discover if training in leadership activities, in community agencies, produced changes in insight and ability to perform democratically. The study lasted one semester. It was designed to determine the depth and degree of discernment or perceptiveness into the climate of elementary classroom leadership which resulted from the field experience. Forty-one prospective teachers, majoring in elementary education, were selected to participate.

Although the study was primarily concerned with "discernment" into the climate of leadership, a number of other dimensions were examined to get a sharper and more clearly defined picture. How did the subjects perform as group leaders? Did ability to discern relate to ability to perform? Did students who showed good "discernment" also show good "level of performance" as group leaders? Did students who showed poor "discernment" show poor "level of performance?" In order to get a sharper focus on agency experience, two groups, the Top Ten and the Lowest Ten, were isolated from the total population. What role did types of experiences play in developing "discernment" in these two groups? Also, what relationship existed between "discernment" and "level of performance" for these two groups? Were those who were highest in "level of performance" also highest in "discernment" or were those who were lowest in "level of performance" also lowest in "discernment?"

The following instruments were used in the study:

A. WRIGHTSTONE PUPIL-TEACHER RAPPORT SCALE

This scale was developed by J. Wayne Wrightstone and his associates. It was used by the students and the writer to rate teachers in the elementary school classroom. The rating scale was made up of ten categories concerned with measurement of condition of rapport,

social climate and teacher leadership in an elementary school classroom. Wrightstone has described this scale and presented evidence concerning its validity and reliability.²

B. AGENCY EVALUATION SCALE

This instrument was developed cooperatively by the writer and two groups of agency leaders. This scale was an objective device to evaluate the subjects' total field experience. The major categories of the scale were concerned with measuring students' ability to perform democratically, insight into democratic group leadership and effectiveness as supervisee.

C. STUDENT ANECDOTAL RECORDS

Each student was required to keep a weekly log in the form of an anecdotal record. An outline to guide the student in structuring the weekly log was developed jointly by the agency personnel, students and the writer. The outline contained items dealing with the behavior patterns of the children, group process analysis, opinion about student growth in leadership and adjustment to agency personnel. The student was trained to note his progress, to recognize difficulties that arose as a result of leadership activities, and to suggest possible means of coping with problems. He used the outline as a check and guide in recording his field experience in the weekly log. He summarized at the end in terms of approaches, attitudes toward and insight into the climate and qualities of group leadership accruing from the whole experience, as noted in his anecdotal weekly records. Logs and summaries provided a sequential word picture of the presence or absence of student growth in insight into group leadership qualities and the climate of leadership.

D. AGENCY ANECDOTAL SUMMARIES

In addition to rating the student on the Agency Evaluation Scale, the agency supervisors summarized each student's growth in leadership, adjustment to agency personnel and clientele, and personality development. This helped throw additional light and insight into student growth and development.

E. ANALYSIS OF KINDS OF EXPERIENCES PROVIDED BY AGENCIES

Some agencies did an outstanding job of training and some did just a good average job. What role did the kind of training provided students play in developing a high level or low level of growth? Two types of agencies, one which was outstanding and one which was good,

² J. Wayne Wrightstone, "Measuring the Social Climate of a Classroom," *Journal of Educational Research*, January 1951, pp. 341-51.

were selected for analysis of kinds of experiences provided by either type of agency. The two agencies were compared and evaluated in terms of the role that kinds of experiences played in determining growth or lack of growth in the Top Ten Group and the Lowest Ten Group in "discernment."

The following procedures were adopted:

A. RATING OF CLASSROOM TEACHERS TO MEASURE STUDENT "DISCERNMENT"

After a period of training in the use of the Wrightstone-Pupil-Teacher Rapport Scale, the entire population was divided into small groups. Each group observed for one hour and rated an elementary school classroom teacher on the scale. This rating was done before the students commenced field work. Each group returned at the end of the field experience, observed for one hour, and rated the same classroom teacher rated at the beginning. The classroom teachers were instructed to make no change in program, manner or method of teaching. But, preference was given at the beginning to those teachers who had a social studies or science program scheduled at the time. No attempt was made to classify teachers according to quality of teaching. A total of eight classroom teachers was observed.

The writer rated each classroom teacher at the same time that each small group of students rated. The validity of the writer's rating and reliability as a rater were previously determined by six qualified judges. Her records were used as a check, criterion and observational control of each student's rating in "discernment" into the climate of leadership on the Wrightstone Scale. The difference between the writer's rating and each student's rating represented the student's score in "discernment." A score of "0" denoted no deviation from or agreement with the writer's rating and indicated the highest degree of "discernment" possible to attain in this particular kind of scoring. The higher the difference between the writer's rating and the student's rating the lower the degree of "discernment."

B. AGENCY TRAINING AND RELATING OF STUDENTS IN LEADERSHIP

Six community group work agencies were selected. The student participants attended agency staff meetings once a month. They did this, so that they might develop insight into the set-up and functioning of the agencies, composition of the community, background and problems of the clientele. All students were exposed to cooperative group planning. They were able to observe the results of cooperative group living with and among agency personnel. All this involved training them in ability to make better adjustment to the agency and its clientele.

To help the students understand how groups develop "groupness,"

the agencies scheduled leadership training programs as well as workshops in skills necessary for program making. The students learned leadership techniques and program skills in music, the dance, arts and crafts, games, etc. Once a week the agency supervisors observed them lead groups of children. However, before the students led groups, they observed agency leaders in action. Provision was made for each student to observe two or more groups in operation. By the end of the month, the students were able to lead groups of from 8 to 15 children. Responsibility was given them gradually; they assisted the agency group leaders and when ready took complete charge of a minimum of 15 children. Each observation of student leadership was discussed with students in counselling sessions. At these sessions the students also discussed and evaluated their weekly logs (Student Anecdotal Records) with the agency supervisors.

All students were rated twice by the agency group leaders on the Agency Evaluation Scale. The first rating was made after introduction and orientation to the agency and before the students had any training in group processes. The students were rated again at the end of the training. Each item was rated by the group work supervisors in numerical value of from one to five, one representing the lowest degree and five the highest degree of leadership insight and performance. These ratings provided over-all assessment of level of student performance in the agency. The reliability and objectivity of agency raters was determined before the beginning of the field experience. These ratings provided over-all assessment of the level of student performance in the agency.

C. ANALYSIS OF ANECDOTAL MATERIALS

The anecdotal material analyses were considered very important in showing causal relationship between student experience and increase or decrease in "discernment." Analysis was done as follows:

1. Each student's weekly log (Student Anecdotal Record) was examined very carefully. Eight criteria by which to judge increased insight into leadership and performance level and student ability to evaluate his own growth were developed cooperatively by the agency personnel, students and the writer. Each criterion was rated below average, average or outstanding. Arbitrary values of 1, 3 and 5 respectively were assigned to each of the three categories. Each student received a total score.

2. The experiences of the Top Ten Group and the Lowest Ten Group in performance level at the agency were analyzed in terms of types of experiences which might have led to a high degree or low degree of growth in "discernment." Another examination was made of the Student Anecdotal Records of these two groups to see how

they grew and the direction of their growth. The same criteria were used to analyze the direction of growth of the two groups as were used in the total analysis of Student Anecdotal Records. In order to document the findings discovered as a result of anecdotal record analysis, excerpts and direct quotations were obtained from the Student Anecdotal Records, agency anecdotal summaries and the writer's own records obtained during counselling sessions with the students.

D. WRITER'S ROLE IN TRAINING

The writer met all students regularly every two weeks. The students brought their weekly logs and received help in writing up anecdotal records. They presented problems, were helped to recognize problems and to relate practical experiences to the theory of child development. There were discussions on group processes and clarification of ideas about different types of leadership. They probed together into techniques of good mental hygiene to use in bettering their leadership. They were helped to change harsh judgments and preconceived ideas about child behavior.

The writer visited the agencies once a month. She observed the students at work so as to corroborate and get insight into agency evaluation of students. She encouraged suggestions and recommendations from agencies and students to aid students attain better orientation and adjustment. She acted as a liaison agent between the student and the agency at all times.

E. TOTAL ANALYSIS INVOLVED IN STUDY

Upon completion of the study, the results were analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively. Statistical significance of differences were determined. Correlations were computed to determine relationships. To establish causal relationships between "discernment" growth and agency experience qualitative materials such as Student Anecdotal Records and summaries, agency summaries of student behavior, types of agency experiences and the writer's own records were examined in depth.

The findings were as follows:

1. The last rating made by the students on the Wrightstone Scale, at the end of the training experience, revealed that the total group erred to the extent of 104 deviations from the writer's criterion rating. Whereas, the first rating, made before training, indicated that they had erred to the extent of 282 deviations from the writer's criterion rating.

2. The t-test result revealed that the difference obtained from Wrightstone first to last totals were significant at the better than .01 level of confidence. The change indicated a positive change, i.e.,

toward agreement with the investigator's criterion score. There was a significant improvement in ability to discern climate and qualities of democratic group leadership for the whole group of students.

3. The agency evaluation Scale recorded significant changes in gain in leadership experience. This actually comprised both insight and performance in the group work experience. The difference obtained from first to last rating for all categories and the total test were significant at the .001 level of confidence. This tended to show that the training was instrumental in effecting a positive change in terms of insights into leadership qualities and performance with groups.

4. The relationship between Wrightstone "Growth" and Agency "Growth" was not significant. The Agency growth score reflected a consistency which the Wrightstone did not always reflect because of the nature of the criterion score, "0" being the highest degree possible to attain. This was a methodological limitation not foreseen at the beginning of the study.

5. "Discernment" results obtained from Student Anecdotal Records were compared with end results obtained from Wrightstone Scale "discernment." The comparison revealed a significant relationship for the entire population. Approximately 40% had achieved outstanding growth, 20% above average growth and 40% had achieved average or slightly below average growth.

6. As a result of the kinds of agency experience provided the Top Ten Group, they developed stronger conceptual underpinning in human relationships than did the Lowest Ten Group. The significant growth seemed due in part to good planning with supervisors, availability of supervisors, good scheduling of time and to personality strengths developed by the students.

7. The statistical relationship between the Wrightstone and the Agency "Growth" for the two groups was not significantly different from zero. However statistical analysis alone did not tell the whole story due to rank order method employed for computation of correlations. A student with a high "discernment" score entitling him to second place in the Top Ten Group was not in second place in "level of performance" although high in rank order. Students high in "discernment" and high in "level of performance" were not necessarily in the same rank order.

8. All of the Top Ten Group were outstanding and above average in total analysis of Student Anecdotal Records. Of the Lowest Ten Group, two only appeared to have done as poorly in gain in "discernment" as they did in gain in "level of performance" and as they did in Student Anecdotal Record ratings. Eight of the Lowest Ten Group

did much better in "discernment" than in "level of performance." It was possible to assume in these cases that growth in performing did not occur until the very end as revealed in anecdotal records.

These findings can be briefly summarized by saying:

1. Gains in "discernment" were outstanding for the total group.
2. The last rating in "discernment" was related significantly to the findings of the log record (Student Anecdotal Record).
3. Although gains in "discernment" were significant as were gains in "performance level" it was difficult to quantify results. The methodological limitation of criterion score difference used to compute Wrightstone Scale results was responsible for the difficulty. Qualifying anecdotal materials tell a more complete story.

A question which invariably arises when consideration is given to the problem of leadership skill is whether or not leadership skill can be developed. This study reported on one significant and unique training technique, namely practical group leadership experience. The results demonstrated the beneficial effects of leadership training in a good situation. It lends support to those who believe that leaders can be trained to develop insight and perform creatively in the act of guiding, directing or influencing people.

The research also indicated that group leadership experience contributed toward increased self-insight. In addition to this, greater acceptance and understanding of people, and changed attitudes toward leadership performance were developed. The anecdotal records submitted by the students, particularly their summaries and evaluation of the field experience, exemplify this growth.

The relationship between discernment and ability to perform makes it possible to assume that the students will be able to transfer these new attitudes and insights into leadership to the elementary classroom situation. They should then be able to function more adequately as democratic group leaders. This major responsibility in teacher training may well be met by requiring education students to participate in community work of this kind.

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AUTHORITY, SOCIETY AND EDUCATION

K. G. Collier

Nothing is so characteristic of twentieth century man as his critical and questioning approach to all traditional forms of authority. It can be seen in all parts of life. It can be observed in the family, where children have a liberty to challenge their parents' demands that would have shocked our grandparents; where women are far less dependent, financially and emotionally, on their husbands than was the case at the turn of the century. Its influence can be seen in the outbreaks of adolescent hooliganism, and again in the disturbing state of certain industries, suffering from erratic production and high absenteeism or from obstinate resistance to change. The alteration of attitude has taken possession not only of those who take the orders but of those who give them: the one side had become more hesitant as the other has become more clamorous.

The causes of the change are probably complicated, like the causes of other wide social changes. Two world wars and a world slump have no doubt made their contribution. A less conspicuous influence is the revolutionary shift in the balance of power over the last half century, as between the more and the less 'privileged' sections of the human race. The backward countries—India, China, Persia, Egypt, Gold Coast—have made immense gains in economic and political power vis-a-vis the West. Correspondingly within Western countries: the rise of the Labour Party and the Trade Unions in Britain since 1900 represent a great accession of power to the lower income groups. Full employment has undoubtedly encouraged the change of attitude to authority; but it is itself a result of the altered distribution of power.

This re-distribution of power has been accompanied by a stretching out of the horizons of thought of common people in many parts of the world. It is true that the ordinary Englishman's horizon of thought is usually bounded by his 'pub' and his football pools, his wage packet and his wife and home; but the fact remains that he may well have fought across North Africa with the Eighth Army, or frozen through a Korean winter, or done garrison duty in Hanover or Cyprus; that he very possibly owns a television set or goes regularly to the cinema, and he comes in contact with a vastly extended range of human history and geography. The stream of world events has penetrated his consciousness far more than was possible fifty years ago, as I believe is borne out by the mass response to Father

Huddleston's lectures about race relations in South Africa or the results of public opinion polls on economic affairs.

These and other causes have contributed to the swing to a more critical and challenging attitude to authority. It is not incompatible with enslavement to a new authority; the essential element appears to be the revolt against an authority sanctioned by tradition. The change obliges us to reconsider the principles governing the exercise of authority.

For our present purpose it is adequate to define the function of the head of a community as to help that body as a whole to pursue the objectives which its members share and to deal with the problems they meet in the process. But at once we are faced with a vital distinction: between our factual estimate of the situation facing him and those personal values or moral assumptions in virtue of which we reach a judgment of his proper action or duty in that situation. We cannot attempt to erect on our sociological analysis a set of principles of action for persons set in authority without first making explicit the value-premises which generate our policy. In what follows I shall be making three such assumptions.

First I shall assume that there are certain basic values of universal validity, such as good order and justice, which in the last resort any person in authority has the duty of maintaining, even in spite of his community's rejection of them; second, that one of these basic principles declares that respect is due to human beings merely because they are persons, and therefore as far as possible a man in authority should direct his attention to fostering the maximum integrity in the individual; and third, that the great increase in independence of ordinary people from restrictions imposed by customary authorities, coupled with their changed attitude to authority in general and their growing socio-political maturity, demand their increasing participation in decisions affecting their welfare.

The mere statement of these value-premises show that they involve us in contradictions. The first implies that in some international dispute, for example, the head of a government whose country is at fault, should demand of his countrymen a respect for justice the second that he should respect the culture-pattern of his community; and if he knows that in fact his policy will do no more than provoke his own dismissal, with the assurance of a less scrupulous successor, he is caught in the inevitable dilemma between less and more injustice. We can only attempt to trace some of the principles flowing from the above values and note certain practical implications. We shall consider first the matter of discipline.

Anyone in a position of command bears the responsibility for

maintaining discipline in that part of a community which comes in his province. Maintaining discipline means basically maintaining proper respect for law and order; it means further, in my view, proper observance of certain other standards, such as conscientious work, courtesy and justice. For that purpose the man in charge must have at his disposal some coercive or autocratic powers—whether the power of dismissal in a factory or of expulsion or of corporal punishment in a school. Men can make no profitable use of freedom until certain prior conditions are fulfilled: reasonable order and security in the community, and reasonable satisfaction of the standards the members have been taught to regard as obligatory.

But in the new situation a person in authority bears also a second responsibility—for winning the active cooperation of those under him, right through the organization. This is the job that faces the heads of schools that are bothered by rowdyism. There is a great deal of evidence that it is only possible for the head of a concern to win such cooperation when he exercises his powers of discipline in accordance with certain principles.

First, his use of his power must be subject to rules or regulations which are clear to everybody: rewards and penalties must be stated; spheres of responsibility must be defined; due notice must be given of impending changes; the rules must be administered with justice and consistency. In short, the power of coercion must be subject to the rule of law and everyone must know just where he stands. The most brutal administrator can earn the warm respect of his subordinates if he observes such rules; as a boy remarked of Dr. Keate, the 'beating headmaster' of early nineteenth century Eton, 'He was a beast, but a just beast.'

A cruel but consistent tyrant may earn his subordinates' respect, and even create a certain rough sense of security; but he cannot generate an atmosphere of friendliness or mutual trust. If he is to win constructive cooperation he must exercise and demonstrate a genuine concern for the welfare of those under him. On the one hand he must be prepared to take—and be known to take—great trouble over their welfare; on the other he must be felt to approve of those around him. Each of these points needs elaboration.

Readers who know the biography of Douglas Bader, whether as a book or as a film, will remember the occasion when Bader was put in charge of a Canadian squadron in 1940. They had lost everything in France and had nothing replaced, and they were in an extremely disillusioned and discontented frame of mind. Bader took drastic and high-handed action with the Air Ministry to get them fully re-equipped; and by that stroke won much of their confidence. A school-

master of my acquaintance on joining a new school was warned of a particularly tough class of boys. Walking across the school garden on his second day he saw a bunch of boys moving some heavy logs and he stepped over to give them a hand; he worked with them for fifteen minutes or so. It so happened that those boys were members of the tough class; and when he came to teach them he had no difficulty with discipline; he had demonstrated his practical concern in them as human beings.

The other way in which a person in authority can demonstrate his good will is in creating an atmosphere of approval—a general conviction that he approves of his subordinates, has confidence in them and trusts them. This is to a considerable extent a matter of tone of voice and manner. But it depends also on his observing certain rules of action. He reduces adverse criticism of others to a minimum; which is less than most people imagine. He gives a subordinate a pat on the back for what is right rather than a telling off for what is wrong. When he has to check a fault he builds his criticism on an appreciation of strong points; when he has to issue punishments he does so without rancour or bitterness.

These things must be done with sincerity: a parade of concern, a facade of appreciation, will get him nowhere. Shrewdness and discretion are required or time will be wasted on trivialities. Among a somewhat skeptical and devious people like the English, noted for the habits of understatement and of speaking in opposites, approval is often expressed in an indirect, conveyed by means of humor or a certain inflection of voice. But the indirectness of approach does nothing to reduce the importance of the principle. Nor should the distrust that may be felt for a policy which, it may be argued, demand angelic benevolence and anyway emasculates ordinary social intercourse. For it is clear that one must use one's discretion in judging a man's exercise of authority: a fiery teacher, ostensibly perhaps violating the principle at every step, may by his underlying warmth and honesty of purpose be far outweighing the effect of the superficial appearance of wrath. And it is well known to common sense, and amply supported by such work as that of Frenkel-Brunswik and her colleagues, that those trained in an authoritarian tradition will not respect authority unless it is asserted in an authoritarian manner. But this does not necessarily entail a vicious circle: authoritarianism perpetuates itself by setting up fear and resentment in its subjects, which lead in turn to excessive dependence on, or insubordination towards, authority. The fact appears to be that children in families and schools are inescapably dependent physically and psychologically, on those in authority, as indeed are also workmen in a factory or

soldiers in an army. If coercive measures are not to be followed by negative reactions they must be followed by clear, unambiguous signs of friendliness and personal concern on the part of authority.

We turn then to the task of leadership—the job of the head of a school to draw those under him into sharing in the responsibility of running the organization, to weld them into a team serving a common purpose. That of course has always been done in some degree in any successful organization; even Hitler and Stalin worked with small groups of followers. Heads of schools have generally worked closely with their senior staff. But the present situation demands a great extension of this partnership: the man at the bench in the factory has been pulled in; and he needs to begin the experience as a boy at school. It is not an easy job: in a school that has suffered twenty years under a bullying head the new head has a long uphill task to establish the right atmosphere.

But granted that he is able to create that climate of good will, we have to enquire into the further steps needed to generate the enlarged sense of partnership. We can distinguish various sectors in the operation. The first requirement is a real sense, among the head and his staff, of their working together as a team. If this is missing any extended consultation between the head and the rank-and-file is likely to be highly unsatisfactory; either it is mere lifeless machinery, perhaps unwittingly sabotaged by the staff, or, if it begins to be successful, it leads to the staff feeling that they are by-passed. There must be genuine give-and-take between the head and his staff, whether formal or informal.

The next sector of the operation is for the head to have regular meetings with prefects and to widen the range of out-of-school clubs and societies.

These things are, by conventional standards, the marks of a good school, and they are still as essential as before. But they are unlikely to pull in more than 20 or 30% of the whole community, and the problem is to go beyond that in order to meet the new situation. The final and most difficult task is to recognize and incorporate into the formal structure of the school the spontaneous groupings that occur among the pupils, to give them status and stability. In many schools, it is common practice now to bring this policy into the classroom. The teacher divides up the class into small syndicates which can work as reasonably independent and responsible units on the job in hand. The 'job in hand' is more varied than was the custom in the past. We may start a study of fifteenth century history in an old town by a visit to the fifteenth century houses there; or a study of water-supply by a visit to the water-works. Such expeditions suitably pre-

pared for and organized offer excellent opportunities for groups to work under their own 'steam,' observing and making notes and diagrams. We find that the preparation of models or displays affords further opportunities for such work.

The point of this approach is not of course to make the work easy; one can never get away from the necessity of hard work in education if one is to achieve any high standards, any degree of excellence; the point is to foster, not only in the prefects but right through the school, habits of constructive cooperation with authority, to create a community where everyone counts, and knows that he counts. Space does not allow the discussion of the incorporation of a due share of 'slogging' and 'swotting' into the above kind of work through some sort of rhythmic alternation of 'adventurous experience' and 'strenuous effort'. Our purpose here is to show the profound importance of the shift in social power and ideas of authority that has manifested itself in the last generation or so, and the need for us to create a new fabric of relationships between those in authority and those under it, if our social and industrial conflicts are to be resolved.

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